
TWO TRADITIONAL STAU STORIES

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ABSTRACT

The rich oral culture of the Stau of Rta'u (Daofu) County, Dkar mdzes (Ganzi) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province, China has not been studied, nor have any of their folklore been published. The two stories presented here originating from Mazi Township are supplemented with background information on Stau storytelling culture. Stau stories that were once a popular form of entertainment and a means of transmitting knowledge now face rival forms of entertainment from television and mobile phones. Consequently, collecting traditional oral culture is important for the speakers and their local community, and research communities.

KEYWORDS

China minorities, oral tradition, Rta'u County, Sichuan, Stau

INTRODUCTION¹

I present two translated stories with a brief discussion concerning their cultural context. The stories were narrated by Gnas sgron lha mo, a native speaker of Stau. The Stau are classified by the PRC government as Tibetan and inhabit Rta'u (Daofu) County and parts of Brag 'go (Luhuo) County in Dkar mdzes (Ganzi) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in western Sichuan. Though the Stau and other ethnicities speaking the Horpa lects have received some recent interest from researchers, their traditional stories have remained hitherto unpublished. This is unfortunate, since intergenerational transmission of the stories is under threat. Perhaps this modest contribution will generate interest in traditional Horpa stories, leading to more preservation efforts.

THE STAU PEOPLE

The Stau are an ethnic minority, many of whom, in addition to identifying themselves as Tibetans and Stau, also identify themselves under the wide umbrella term "Horpa." In general, the Horpa speak several lects that are closely related to each other, although not always mutually intelligible. According to Jacques et al. (2015:1), mutually unintelligible Horpa lects include at least Stau, Geshiz(h)a,² and Shangzhai.³ Of these, the Stau lect and its speakers have received the

¹ The Langnet Doctoral Programme in Finland funded my linguistic fieldtrip in 2015 that allowed me to collect the stories. I thank my Stau teacher, Gnas sgron lha mo, for her insights into Stau language and culture, AHP editors, Jesse Gates whose familiarity with Mazi Stau resulted in transcription corrections, and Herbert/Lhundrop who helped me better understand the history of the concept "Horpa."

² Both Geshizha and Geshiza are technically correct Pinyin renditions. The latter more faithfully reflects the local pronunciation of the term and is used hereafter.

³ In fact, the diversity of the Horpa lects somewhat exceeds this estimation. It is likely that four or five major Horpa lects exist, some of which can be further divided into separate sublects with only limited mutual intelligibility.

most attention from outsiders. The languages have no written form. Consequently, Literary Tibetan has traditionally functioned as the written language in the region. This role is now partially shifting to written Chinese.

In the linguistic context, I use Horpa synonymously to the term Western rGyalrongic. In other words, Horpa as used here does not refer to any individual lect or language, but to the whole agglomeration of related lects that might constitute a Western subgroup of the rGyalrongic languages. The use of the term Horpa in the linguistic context serves the purpose of maintaining a direct connection to previous research. Western research on the Horpa languages was commenced by the pioneering work of Hodgson (1853) and thereafter, Horpa has become a recognized term, both among Western and Chinese scholars.

Tibetans generally refer to the people around the contemporary Dkar mdzes, Brag 'go, and Rta'u counties as *hor pa*.¹ The term originally referred to the Uyghur, but it was later applied to the Mongols of Genghis Khan (Stein 1972:34). According to tradition, the Hor dpon khag Inga 'Five Hor States' were established after the thirteenth century Mongol conquest in the region, which is the approximate homeland of the Stau and other modern Horpa lect speakers. The Epic of King Gesar also mentions a war between gLing, the homeland of Gesar, and the Kingdom of Hor. The memory of Mongol immigrations still lives among locals. Furthermore, various local regional groups have accounts of a Mongol ancestry (Zeng 2007).

Zeng (2006) proposes that Horpa originally referred to Huangtou Huihu 'Yellowhead Uygur' who moved to the region north of Dar mdo (Kangding) where they were to some extent assimilated into culturally Tibetan groups. The Stau people can thus be understood as an amalgam of different cultural elements that exhibit Tibetan

¹ The Tibetan term *hor pa* combines the noun *hor* with the agent suffix *-pa*. The Tibetan root *hor* has no native etymology. Ren (1984) argues that etymologically, *hor* is likely to be a loan of the Chinese Hú 胡 used to refer to non-Chinese peoples of Central Asia.

influence, e.g., Tibetan Buddhism and various Tibetan loanwords, and who adopted a Tibetan identity.

Stau's heavy exposure to Tibetan culture is in stark contrast to the neighboring, linguistically closely related yet ethnically non-Horpa Geshiza people, whose culture in recent years has been greatly influenced by Han Chinese. Nevertheless, Stau and Geshiza traditional oral cultures have many similarities, for example, the appearance of shared characters, such as A khu Ston pa the trickster, narrative themes, and the social function the stories used to play in the past.

STORYTELLING AND THE CHALLENGES OF MODERNITY

The Stau possess a rich oral culture of traditional stories, which the Stau themselves recognize. For instance, a traditional storyteller I interviewed in Rta'u (Xianshui) County Town, sees the oral stories as the pivotal element of Stau culture and refers to the Stau homeland as the "Land of Stories."

The stories do not exist in isolation. Long coexistence with other ethnicities in the Sichuan Ethnic Corridor, explains why certain Stau stories are shared with other ethnicities in the region. For instance, A khu Ston pa - a notorious trickster, who ingeniously fools the privileged holding political and religious power, young women, and anyone else he can benefit from - are shared with surrounding Tibetans. Huan et al. (2015) estimate that more than 200 different A khu Ston pa stories exist in Tibetan.¹ The number of A khu Ston pa stories circulating in the Stau language is unknown.

In addition to the A khu Ston pa stories, the Stau also tell stories that have both entertainment value and often convey moral lessons to the listeners. These latter stories may be of Stau origin, but I cannot corroborate this. Historically, the Stau told stories in the evening before going to bed. At present, however, transgenerational transmission of traditional folklore has weakened and the stories are

¹ For a selection of A khu Ston pa stories in English, see Dorje (1997).

quickly being forgotten, although they seem to be better remembered among the Stau than their Geshiza neighbors.

Among the ethnic minorities of China, modernity is often negotiated by balancing cultural continuity and change in everyday life. Television portrays a global/Chinese modernity and thus functions as a tool of assimilation in a world that has little space for the Stau oral tradition. Now that many locals have access to new channels of entertainment with a continuous stream of audio-visual stimuli, many young people have little interest in traditional stories. Instead, they prefer television programs and mobile phone instant message services, such as Weixin/WeChat.

The Stau are not alone in facing changes caused by the introduction of modern technology. Libu et al. (2013) describes the irrevocable change that the arrival of electricity has brought the Namunyi (Namuzi) Tibetans in Sichuan. Change among the Namunyi resembles that of the Stau. Evening has changed from a communal time shared with friends and relatives into a silent period for watching television. Libu reports that before electrification, elders were the authority figures as well as providers of entertainment. After new forms of electronic entertainment were introduced, elders' roles have been much diminished, leading to a break in transmission of the oral tradition. The Stau face a similar situation.

The lack of a written language also means that traditional stories cannot be written in the Stau language, which contrasts starkly with Tibetan-speaking Tibetans. According to Kun Mchog et al. (1999:6), access to radio and television together with the publication of stories has led to increased awareness of trickster characters among the Tibetan-speaking Tibetans. Unlike the Stau, written Tibetan can be harnessed to disseminate traditional stories through a new medium. Seen against this backdrop, creating a writing system for the Stau language would serve as an important measure for cultural preservation. In practice, however, creating a writing system for Stau presents grave challenges. First, a culturally appropriate script must be selected. Tibetan script is likely to best serve this function, since many speakers are already familiar with it and owing to religious

reasons, mentally connect it with prestige that is necessary for its dissemination. Second, Stau has internal variation, which makes developing a unified orthography for the language a contentious task likely to raise controversies.

STORY METADATA

I recorded the stories "The Three Princesses and a Servant" and "The Boy and the Crow" from Gnas sgron lha mo, a native Stau speaker born in p^hozəwo Hamlet in Mazi/Ma zu(r)¹ Township. In 2015, she was in her late twenties and spoke Stau, Central Tibetan, and basic English. She acquired the latter two languages after leaving her home area. Central Tibetan was our lingua franca for the linguistic analysis of the recorded stories.

Conveying oral narrations from a non-literate culture in a translated written form to a new target audience is challenging. To make the stories more readable in English, repetition, rephrasing, and hesitation frequently present in spoken language have been omitted from the retold version. When deemed necessary, some words with mostly functional value have been added to the narrative to make the translation more idiomatic and natural. Elements omitted by the narrator due to abbreviation or lapse of memory have also been added to make the textual rendition of the stories easier for the reader to understand. The Stau language is represented through IPA in the stories.

I also named the stories based on their content. They have no fixed names in Stau.

Even though the speaker originates from the Mazi Township, the Stau language present in the stories differs somewhat from earlier known Mazi varieties. Hence, two factors must be considered. First, the Mazi Township is geographically wide, thus providing space for linguistic variation. It is unlikely that linguistic and political boundaries overlap completely, with the result that all Stau spoken

¹ In Tibetan, *ma zu* is also spelled *ma zur*.

within the confines of Mazi Township is not necessarily exclusively that of the Mazi Stau dialect. Second, the speaker has spent a considerable amount of her life in a community where speakers from many parts of Rta'u meet and live together in a multilingual environment. The interaction with speakers of various dialects has influenced the speaker's language. Noticeably, the stories exhibit some Tibetan influence that likely results from daily interaction with Tibetan speakers.

Vanderveen (2015) provides a phonological description of Mazi Stau, but no descriptive Stau grammars currently exist. My grammatical analysis of the language in the glossing below is based on my knowledge of the related Geshiza language in the Horpa subgroup and Jacques et al. (2015) that provides a sketch of the Khang gsar Stau dialect. Parts of the glossing and translation are tentative and will likely change as our understanding of Stau and the Horpa lects in general evolve.

THE THREE PRINCESSES AND A SERVANT¹

| | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|-------------------------|--------------|-----------|-------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>næ²</i> | <i>ŋəma³</i> | <i>jerpə</i> | <i>ue</i> | <i>də-ji-regə⁴</i> |
| | past | past | king | CLF | DIR-EXV.3-LNK |

A long time ago there was a king.

¹ I am solely responsible for all errors that have remained in the English translation and Stau transcriptions presented here.

² Here, the word appears in with the consonant cluster *ŋnæ* reduced.

³ *næ ŋəma* is a set expression used at the beginning stories. The former element is a native Mazi Stau word while the latter is a Tibetan loanword *sngon ma*.

⁴ The actual vowel quality in the directional prefixes depends on their phonetic context. For instance, *də-ŋo-regə* DIR-COP.3-LNK is realized as *du-ŋo-regə* in rapid everyday speech. In addition to directional meanings, the prefixes are also used to express aspect and the imperative mood. In the stories, for the sake of simplicity, they are universally glossed as DIR regardless of their actual function.

| | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|---|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|--|
| 2 | <i>di:</i> | <i>smi</i> | <i>xsu</i> | <i>ke</i> | <i>də-ji-sə-rə.</i> ¹ | |
| | DEM.GEN | daughter | three | CLF | DIR-EXV.3-IFR-SENS | |
| He had three daughters. | | | | | | |
| 3 | <i>zə-cʰe</i> | <i>də-gi</i> | <i>xse-lə-zgri,</i> ² | <i>tʰi³</i> | <i>vədə-gi</i> | |
| | SUPL-big | DEF-DAT | gold-NMLZ-star | 3SG.GEN | below-DAT | |
| | <i>rŋe-lə-zgri,</i> | <i>tʰi</i> | <i>vədə-gi</i> | <i>do-lə-zgri</i> | | |
| | silver-NMLZ-star | 3SG.GEN | below-DAT | bronze-NMLZ-star | | |
| | <i>də-rmə-sə-rə.</i> | | | | | |
| | DIR-name.3-IFR-SENS | | | | | |
| | The oldest was named Gold Star, the one below her was Silver Star, and the one below her was Bronze Star. | | | | | |
| 4 | <i>təgə</i> ⁴ | <i>xse-lə-zgri:</i> ⁵ | <i>xse-ndzu</i> | <i>lu</i> | <i>də-ji,</i> | |
| | PART | gold-NMLZ-star.GEN | gold-mdzo.mo | CLF | DIR-EXV.3 | |
| | Then Gold Star had a gold <i>mdzo mo.</i> ⁶ | | | | | |

¹ *-sə-rə*, consisting of two co-occurring evidential suffixes, is a genre marker that identifies the utterance as the genre of traditional stories. It is similar to Geshiza *-sʰə-mə-rə* and *-sə ŋə-rə* in Khang gsar Stau documented by Jacques et al. (2015), both of which frequently occur in traditional stories as genre indicators.

² The morphological structure of the three princesses' names, *xse-lə-zgri*, *rŋe-lə-zgri* and *do-lə-zgri*, is somewhat opaque and the names are interpreted here to be constructed with the nominalizer *-lə* similar to *ŋə* 'to eat', *ŋə-lə* 'things that are eaten, food'. Thus, *xse-lə* can be seen as 'thing that is of gold, golden one'. This interpretation would require that the noun *xse* has a stative verb counterpart formed by zero derivation.

³ The form *tʰə* (GEN *tʰi*) is a distal demonstrative pronoun 'that' pairing with the proximal demonstrative pronoun *di* (GEN *di:*). However, *tʰə* (PL *tʰi-ŋi*) also carries the functions of a third person pronoun. Consequently, its most appropriate glossing has been determined by the context in the stories.

⁴ *təgə* is a particle that introduces a new topic or divides the narration into different segments. It can often be translated as "then."

⁵ Vowel length in Stau is not contrastive in general. However, when the genitive case marker *-j* is added to a word ending with the vowel *-i*, the fusion results in a vowel with prolonged quality: *-i-j* > *-i:* in the speaker's idiolect.

⁶ A *mdzo mo/dzomo* refers to female hybrid between a yak and a cow. In the story, each princess has a *dzo mo* corresponding to the metal in their names.

| | | | | |
|---|---|----------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| 5 | <i>rje-lə-zgri:</i> | <i>rje-ndzu</i> | <i>(lu)¹</i> | <i>də-ji,</i> |
| | silver-NMLZ-star.GEN | silver-mdzo.mo | CLF | DIR-EXV.3 |
| Silver Star had a silver <i>mdzo mo</i> . | | | | |
| 6 | <i>do-lə-zgri:</i> | <i>do-ndzu</i> | <i>(lu)²</i> | <i>də-ji-regə,</i> |
| | bronze-NMLZ-star.GEN | bronze-mdzo.mo | CLF | DIR.EXV.3-LNK |
| Bronze Star had a bronze <i>mdzo mo</i> . | | | | |
| 7 | <i>təəgə</i> | <i>di:</i> | <i>jerpə</i> | <i>di:</i> |
| | PART | DEM.GEN | king | DEM.GEN |
| | <i>də-ji-sə-rə.</i> | | | |
| | DIR.EXV.3-IFR-SENS | | | |
| | Then the king had a servant. | | | |
| 8 | <i>təəgə</i> | <i>xse-lə-zgri-w</i> | <i>xse-ndzu</i> | <i>tsʰu</i> |
| | PART | gold-NMLZ-star-ERG | gold-mdzo.mo | milk |
| | <i>nə-əə-regə,</i> | | | |
| | DIR-go.3-LNK | | | |
| | Then Gold Star went to milk (her) gold <i>mdzo mo</i> . | | | |
| 9 | <i>məqʰe</i> | <i>qʰe</i> | <i>də-ji-regə,</i> | <i>təəgə</i> |
| | rain | rain | DIR-EXV.3-LNK | PART |
| | <i>ŋyamba</i> <i>ŋo-rə.</i> | | | |
| | mud | COP.3-SENS | | |
| | It was raining and then, there was mud. | | | |
| 10 | <i>(ŋɛ,)³</i> | <i>di</i> | <i>joypo-gi</i> | <i>"penti</i> |
| | 1SG.GEN | DEM | servant-DAT | stool |
| | <i>qʰa</i> <i>lə</i> <i>də-əə"</i> | | | |
| | <i>di-ji-regə,</i> | | | |
| | DIR-say.3-LNK | | | |

This likely refers to the animals' color.

¹ Element added by the speaker after the recording.

² Element added by the speaker after the recording.

³ The pronoun *ŋɛ* likely starts an utterance that was left unfinished by the speaker and may be ignored in the translation.

She (Gold Star) said to her servant, "Go fetch me a stool."

11 "ŋa t'i nə məqʰe qʰe nə penti ɬε
1SG DEM.GEN in rain rain in stool bring
εə-lə mu-ru~ru."¹

go-NMLZ NEG-RED~can.1

"In the rain, I cannot go fetch a stool," he (the servant) said.

12 "ŋa rŋətso-ŋkʰə, ni ŋε tɛʰæ ju-ndzu"
1SG kneel-NMLZ.A 2SG 1SG.GEN on DIR-sit.2
di-ji-regə,

DIR-say.3-LNK

"I am a kneeler (I kneel down), so sit on me," he (the servant) said.

13 tɛəgə tʰi tɛʰæ ju-ndzu-tə nə xse-lə-zgri-w
PART 3SG.GEN on DIR-sit.3-NF in gold-NMLZ-star-ERG
xse-ndzu nu-f-tsʰu-sə-rə.

gold-mdzo.mo DIR-INV-milk-3>3-IFR-SENS

Then, sitting on him, Gold Star milked (her) gold *dzo mo*.

14 tʰi-εu rŋe-lə-zgri-w rŋe-ndzu
DEM.GEN-after silver-NMLZ-star-ERG silver-mdzo.mo
tsʰu nə-εə-regə,
milk DIR-go.3-LNK

Then, Silver Star went to milk (her) silver *mdzo mo*.

15 tɛəgə tʰi ædæx-w di-ji-sə də
PART 3SG.GEN older.sister-ERG DIR-say.3-NMLZ DEF
randza di-ji-tə di-ji-regə,
same.manner DIR-say.3-NF DIR-say.3-LNK

Then, she spoke in the same manner that her older sister had spoken.

¹ Reduplication appearing here with the modal *ru* has not been attested in previous research on Stau. Typically, verb stem reduplication indicates plurality and mutual action in the Horpa lects.

16 *tcəgə* "ŋa *tʰə-bi* ætcʰim *penti* eæ,
 PART 1SG DEM-like what.to.say stool look.for
eæ *əsə-lə* *mu-ru~ru-rə.*"
 look.for go-NMLZ NEG-RED~can.3-SENS
 Then, "I cannot do like that, I cannot go looking for a stool."

17 "'ni ŋɛ *teʰæ* *ju-ndzu.* *ni:* ædæ-w
 2SG 1SG.GEN on DIR-sit.2 2SG.GEN older.sister-ERG
ŋɛ *teʰæ* *ju-ndzu"* *di-ji-sə-rə.*
 1SG.GEN on DIR-sit.3 DIR-say.3-IFR-SENS
 "You sit on me! Your elder sister sat on me," he (the servant)
 said.

18 "*tʰə-bi* *də* *ju-ndzu* *nu-f-tsʰu"* *di-ji-regə*
 DEM.like DEF DIR-sit.3 DIR-INV-milk.3>3 DIR-say.3-LNK
 "Like this, sit and milk," he (the servant) said.

19 *tcəgə* *di:* *teʰæ* (*atea-j*)¹ ædæ-j
 PART DEM.GEN on older.sister-GEN older.sister-GEN
tʰə-bi *randza* *ju-ndzu-tə*
 DEM-like same.manner DIR-sit.3-NF
nu-f-tsʰu-sə-rə.
 DIR-INV-milk.3>3-IFR-SENS
 Then, she sat like her older sister had done and milked.

20 *tcəgə* *do-lə-zgri-w* *do-ndzu* *tsʰu*
 PART bronze-NMLZ-star-ERG bronze-mdzo.mo milk
nə-əsə-sə-rə.
 DIR-go.3-IFR-SENS
 Then, Bronze Star went to milk (her) bronze *mdzo mo.*

¹ The word is Tibetan, and likely results from the speaker's long daily interactions with Tibetan speakers. Immediately after, the speaker rephrases with a native Stau word.

21 *tcəgə* *do-ndzu* *tsʰu* *nə-əə-regə,*
 PART bronze-mzdo.mo milk DIR-go.3-LNK
məqʰe *qʰe-ji-rə.*
 rain rain-EXV.3-SENS

Then, when she went to milk her *mdzo mo*, it was raining.

22 "*penti* *l̥ə* *də-əə"* *di-ji-regə,*
 stool bring DIR-go.2 DIR-say.3-LNK
 She said, "Go bring a stool!"

23 "*ni:* *ædæ* *yni-w* *læ,* *ŋə* *tcʰæ*
 2SG.GEN older.sister two-ERG TOP 1SG.GEN on
tʰə-bi *də* *ŋa* *gə-rŋətso,* *ŋə* *tcʰæ*
 DEM-like DEF 1SG DIR-kneel.1 1SG.GEN on
ju-ndzu-tə *nu-f-tsʰu.* *ni* *jo* *ju-ndzu"*
 DIR-sit-NF DIR-INV-milk.3>3 2SG also DIR-sit.2
di-ji-regə,
 DIR-say.3-LNK

"Your two older sisters sat on my back like this to milk while I was kneeling down like this, so you also, sit on me," he (the servant) said.

24 "*ni* *pʰu* *lu* *rəmputeʰi* *ŋə-rə.* *ŋa* *ni:*
 2SG man CLF honorable COP.2-SENS 1SG 2SG.GEN
tcʰæ *ndzu* *mæ-ŋe.* *ŋa* *mə* *lu* *rəmputeʰi*
 on sit NEG-good 1SG woman CLF honorable
ŋoŋ, *ni:* *tcʰæ* *(nə)¹-mæ-ndzoy."*
 COP.1 2SG.GEN on DIR-NEG-sit.1

"You are a honorable man; it is not right for me to sit on you. I am an honorable woman; I will not sit on you."

25 *tʰi* *'na* *ŋyamba* *nə* *rŋətso-ŋkʰə* *di-ji-tə*
 DEM.GEN 1SG mud in kneel-NMLZ.A DIR-say-NF

¹ Element added by the speaker after the recording.

gə-rŋətsu-tə *nə-f-ts'u-sə-rə.*
 DIR-kneel.3-NF DIR-INV-milk.3>3-IFR-SENS
 "I will kneel down in the mud," she (Bronze Star) said and
 knelt to milk.

26 *təəgə xse-lə-zgri* *put^ho* *gə-nq^hrə-sə-rə.¹*
 PART gold-NMLZ-star husband DIR-marry.3>3-IFR-SENS
 Then, Gold Star married a husband.

27 *put^ho rjerpə* *ke-j* *zi* *ke* *də*
 husband king CLF-GEN son CLF DEF
gə-nq^hrə-sə-rə.
 DIR-marry.3>3-IFR-SENS
 The husband whom she (Gold Star) married was the son of a
 king.

28 *(r)ŋe-lə-zgri²* *rjerpə* *ke-j* *zi* *də*
 silver-NMLZ.star king CLF-GEN son DEF
gə-nq^hrə-regə,
 DIR-marry.3>3-LNK
 Silver Star married the son of a king.

29 *təəgə do-lə-zgri-w* *gə* *di* *joypo-p^hæ*
 PART bronze-NMLZ-star-ERG INDF? DEM servant-COM
ju-ndzu-sə-rə.
 DIR-stay.3-IFR-SENS
 Then Bronze Star stayed with the servant.

30 *təəgə t^hi-ŋi:, xse-lə-zgri* *re rŋe-lə-zgri-ŋi:,*
 PART 3-PL.GEN gold-NMLZ-star and silver-NMLZ-star-PL.GEN

¹ The inverse prefix *f/v-* appears in 3>3 interactions, unless blocked by phonological factors.

² The speaker drops the preinitial *r* in the consonant cluster.

(*rye..*)¹ *put^ho-ni* *rjerpə* *ŋo-rə.*
 rich.person husband-PL rich.person COP.3-SENS
 Then, the husbands of Gold Star and Silver Star were rich.

31 *t^hi-ŋi:* *jə-taypə-ni-w* *rjə* *səts^hæ*
 3-PL.GEN house?-owner-PL.GEN property lot
du-f-k^hu-sə-rə.
 DIR-INV-give.3>3-IFR-SENS
 Their family heads gave them a lot of property.

32 *do-lə-zgri* *də* *t^hontc^ho* *nə-və-tə~tə²*
 bronze-NMLZ-star DEF look.down DIR-do.3-RED~NF
da-mæ-f-k^hu-sə-rə.
 DIR-NEG-INV-give.3>3-IFR-SENS
 They looked down on Bronze Star and did not give her (any property).

33 *təgə* *t^hi-ŋi* *k^hæ~k^hæ* *sætə^hæ* *gə*
 PART 3-PL RED~different place INDF
də-ɛə-sə-regə,
 DIR-go.3-LNK
 Then, they (the three married couples) went to a different place.

34 *təgə* *gəzə* *p^hæ* *ŋe* *mə* *go-ŋnæ-regə,*
 PART evening other place sky DIR-dark-LNK
sætə^hæ *gə* *nə* *ji-ɿa~ɿa-regə,*
 place INDF in DIR-RED~stay.3-LNK
 Then, when night fell in that different place, they stayed there.

¹ The element in parenthesis is the word *rjerpə* 'rich person, king, chieftain'. The speaker corrects herself immediately after.

² The reduplication of *tə* is likely accidental. The speaker reports the segment without the reduplication audible in the recording.

35 *do-lə-xgri:* *put^ho-w* *di-ji-tə,*
 bronze-NMLZ-star.GEN husband-ERG DIR-say.3-NF
 Bronze Star's husband said,

36 *"t^hi-ji læ, q^hasi gə yvo kə-yri xi-regə,*
 3-PL TOP tomorrow INDF ice DIR-lot EXV-LNK
nə ɿə~ɿəŋ-gu. t^hi yvo tə^hæ ji-ve mə-sku."
 in RED~come.1-NMLZ 3 ice on DIR-go NEG-can.3
 "We will reach a place with a lot of ice tomorrow. They (Gold
 Star and Silver Star and their husbands) cannot walk on the
 ice."

37 *"t^hi-ji læ məde rjə də-gə-rə."*
 3-PL TOP DEM.honorific? property DIR-have-SENS
 "They have a lot of property."

38 *"ydzu rlə səts^hæ də-gə-rə."*
 rtsam.pa wheat.flour lot DIR-have-SENS
 "They have a lot of *rtsam pa*¹ and wheat flour."

39 *"ydzu rlə də nə-sp^hrə læ, ɻə-yne²*
 rtsampa wheat.flour DEF DIR-spread.3>3 PART 1-DU
læ ydzu rlə-bi læ tə^hu mæ-gə-rə."
 TOP rtsam.pa wheat.flour-like TOP PART NEG-have-SENS
 "They can spread the *rtsam pa* and flour on the ice (so that it is
 possible to walk on it)," he (the servant) said. "We two don't have
 provisions like that."

40 *"t^hi tə^hæ ji-rə t^hə~t^həŋ-rə mæ"*
 DEM.GEN on DIR-direction RED~reach?.1-SENS NEG

¹ *Rtsam pa* refers to roasted barley flour.

² The existence of dual, sensu stricto, is dubious in Stau. Unlike in Geshiza where the number two and the dual marker are clearly distinct, Stau utilizes only one form in both contexts. Consequently, a conservative interpretation would gloss *yne* simply as a numeral in the stories.

di-ji-sə-rə.

DIR-say.3-IFR-SENS

"We cannot walk on the ice and get to the other side," he (the servant) said.

41 *təəgə di xse-lə-zgri rŋe-lə-zgri-ni-w*
 PART DEM gold-NMLZ-star silver-NMLZ-star-PL-ERG
tʰi-yne-ka gu-ntsotsə. tʰi-yne-w ætəcʰə
 3-DU-ALL DIR-eavesdrop.3 3-DU-ERG what
fce mə-fce gu-ntsotsə-regə,
 speak NEG-speak DIR-eavesdrop.3-LNK
 Then, both Gold Star and Silver Star were listening secretly to what the two of them (Bronze Star and her husband) were saying.

42 *təəgə tʰi-ŋi-w təcʰu ŋo-rə də-ntsʰə-tə*
 PART 3-PL-ERG PART COP.3-SENS DIR-think.3-NF
ŋdzu rɪə tʰi təcʰæ ŋə-sni ŋvo
 rtsam.pa wheat flour DEM.GEN on after-day ice
təcʰæ ji-ve-kʰæ, tʰi təcʰæ nə-spʰrə-sə-rə.
 on DIR-go-time DEM.GEN on DIR-spread.3>3-IFR-SENS
 Then, they thought that things were like they (Bronze Star and her husband) had said. The next day, when walking on the ice, they spread (their provisions on the ice in order to walk on it).

43 *təəgə wu gəzə tʰə-bi ji-ɛə~ɛə-regə,*
 PART again evening DEM-like DIR-RED~go.3-LNK
 Then again, like that, they went on in the evening.

44 *wu sətəcʰæ gə nə də-la-regə,*
 again place INDF in DIR-remain.3-LNK
 The spent again the night in a (new) place.

45 *di joypo də-regə do-lə-zgri yne-w*
 DEM servant DEF-LNK bronze-NMLZ-star two-ERG

kʰævdæ nə-və-tə joypo du di-ji-tə,
 discussion DIR-do.3-NF servant DEM.ERG DIR-say.3-NF
 The servant and Bronze Star spoke. The servant said,

46 "qʰasi læ yrə mə-re yrə
 tomorrow TOP water NEG-NMLZ.L water
mə-tcə-regə nə ɺə~ɺan̥-gu."
 NEG-EXV-LNK in RED~come.1-NMLZ
 "Tomorrow we will reach a place without water."

47 *tʰi-ni læ məde ypi kə-yri, ypi kə-yri*
 3-PL TOP DEM.honorific? urine DIR-lot urine DIR-lot
də-gə-rə. tʰə jæ-f-tʰi. ɳa-yne læ
 DIR-have-SENS DEM DIR-INV-drink.3>3 1-DU TOP
ypı nə-qʰa də-mæ."
 urine two-CLF DIR-NEG
 "Your sisters and their husbands will have a lot of urine to drink.
 We, however, (only) have two people's share of urine to drink."

48 "tʰi-kʰæ təʰu mi-fkʰu~kʰoŋ-rə" di(-ji-regə)¹,
 DEM.GEN-time PART NEG-RED~be.full,1-SENS DIR-say.3-LNK
 At that time, we will not be able to quench our thirst," he (the
 servant) said.

49 *tʰi-ni-w təʰu ɳə-rə də-ntsʰə-regə,*
 3-PL-ERG PART be.3-SENS DIR-think.3-LNK
 They (Gold Star and Silver Star with their husbands) thought
 things were just like Bronze Star and her husband had said.

50 *qʰasi gə ajitu yrə mə-tcə-re-qʰe*
 tomorrow INDF DIR.ADV water NEG-EXV-NMLZ.L-LOC
ɻə-regə,
 come.3-LNK

¹ The end of the segment is not clearly audible since it is pronounced in a whispered voice.

The next day, they reached a place without water.

51 *ypi də nə-v-læ-regə, ypi də*
 urine DEF DIR-INV-urinate.3>3-LNK urine DEF
ji-f-t'i~t'i-regə do-ydu~du-sə-rə.
 DIR-INV-RED~drink.3>3-LNK DIR-RED~poison.3-IFR-SENS
 After having urinated and drunk their own urine, they were
 poisoned.

52 *tcəgə zgru gə-nəzə-sə-rə.*
 PART story DIR-end?-IFR-SENS
 Then, this is the end of the story.

THE BOY AND THE CROW

1 *vədæ mæ-zə ɻe də-j-i-regə,*
 old.woman mother-child CLF DIR-EXV.3-LNK
 There was an old woman - a mother and a child.

2 *di: davdə ɻe də-j-i-sə-rə.*
 DEM.GEN son CLF DIR-EXV.3-IFR-SENS
 She had a son.

3 *tcəgə t'i-yne o rjə mæ-ŋkʰə du-ŋo-regə,*
 PART 3-DU INTERJ property NEG-NMLZ.A DIR-COP.3-LNK
 Then, they were persons with no property.

4 *davd-i amə də joypo¹ ɻə də-ɻə.*
 son-GEN mother DEF servant go DIR-go.3
 The mother of the son went to work as a servant.

¹ The term *joypo* refers to a male servant. A female servant is usually called *jomo*.

5 *joypo* *də-ɛə-regə*, *ama-gi* *læ* *də*
 servant DIR-go.3-LNK mother-DAT payment DEF
ɛi *du-f-kʰu-sə-rə*.
 barley DIR-INV-give.3>3-IFR-SENS
 She went to work as a servant and she was given barley as a payment.

6 *ɛi* *du-f-kʰu-regə*, *tɛəgə* *ji-f-kʰi-regə*,
 barley DIR-INV-give.3>3-LNK PART DIR-INV-dry.3>3-LNK
 She was given barley and then she dried it.

7 *davdə* *də* *tʰə-qʰe* *yro* *ju-ysu-regə*,
 son DEF DEM-LOC dry DIR-guard?.3>3-LNK
 The son guarded it drying there.

8 *davd-u* *qaʒi-gi* *ɛi* *də-mə-sə-rə*.
 son-ERG crow-DAT barley DIR-feed.3>3-IFR-SENS
 The son fed it to the crows.

9 *tɛəgə amow* *davdə* *nə-f-təpa-sə-rə*.
 PART mother.ERG son DIR-INV-drive.away.3>3-IFR-SENS
 Then the mother drove the son away from home.

10 *davdə* *qarwæ-gu* *qarwæ-gu* *də-ɛə-regə*,
 son cry-NMLZ cry-NMLZ DIR-go.3-LNK
 The son left, crying and crying.

11 *qaʒi* "atɛʰə" *mæ-ŋe"* *di-ji-regə*,
 crow what NEG-good DIR-say.3-LNK
 "What is wrong?" a crow asked.

12 "ŋa *amə-j* *ɛi-ntɛi* *də*
 1SG mother-GEN barley-small.amount DEF
ji-f-kʰi-sə *də* *qaʒi-gi* *ɛi*
 DIR-INV-dry.3>3- NMLZ DEF crow-DAT barley

də-mə *gə.* *amow* *ŋa*
 DIR-feed.1>3 PART mother.ERG 1SG
nə-f-təpa ."
 DIR-INV-drive.away.3>3
 "I gave crows a little barley that my mother had put to dry, so
 my mother drove me away from home," (he said).

13 *qaʒi-w* *di-gi* *rata* *lu*
 crow-ERG DEM-DAT millstone CLF
du-f-kʰu-sə-rə.
 DIR-INV-give.3>3-IFR-SENS
 The crow gave him a millstone.

14 *rata* *lu* *du-f-kʰu-regə,* *tʰə* *"rə-čə*
 millstone CLF DIR-INV-give.3>3-LNK DEM DIR-go.2
nde *gə.* *'atcʰə* *nə-ŷdzi'"* *di-ji-tə*
 PART PART what(ever) DIR-grind.2 DIR-say.3-NF
"ŷdu-nkʰə *lu* *ŋu.* *rə-čə* *nde.* *rə-qʰe*
 grind-NMLZ.A CLF COP.3.IRR DIR-go.2 PART DIR-LOC
ji-di-ndzu" *di-ji-regə.*
 DIR-PROH-stay.2 DIR-say.3-LNK
 After giving the millstone, the crow said, "Go! It is a grinder (i.e.,
 grinds) whatever you tell it to grind. Go and don't stay there (at
 a stranger's home)!" the crow said.¹

15 *davdə* *rə-čə-regə,* *gəzə* *mitsa* *ve-qʰe*
 son DIR-go.3-LNK evening stranger² CLF-LOC
ju-ndzu-regə,
 DIR-stay.3-LNK

¹ This part refers to the millstone's magical properties to produce whatever it is told to grind.

² The consultant translates the Stau term *mitsa* as *nang mi* 'family member' into Tibetan. Since these family members clearly belong to a family distinct from that of the protagonist, the term is glossed as 'stranger' in the stories.

The son went away and stayed at the house of strangers in the evening.

16 *mitsa-ni-gi* *di-ji-regə*,
 stranger-PL-DAT DIR-say.3-LNK
 The son said to the strangers.

17 "gəzə nə mæ-rgə-kʰæ, ni-ni ŋɛ
 evening in NEG-sleep-time 2-PL 1SG.GEN
 di rata-gi tɛʰu 'nə-ydzi'-bi tɛʰu
 DEM millstone-DAT PART DIR-grind.2-like PART
 də-di-ji m(o)¹" di-ji-regə,
 DIR-PROH-say.2 PART DIR-say.3-LNK
 "At night, at the time when not yet going to sleep, do not tell
 my millstone to grind or anything."

18 *tʰi-ni-w* *tʰi* *mitsa-ni-w* "atɛʰə ŋu gə"
 3-PL.ERG 3 stranger-PL-ERG what COP.3.IRR PART
 də-ntsʰə-regə, tɛʰu "nə-ydzi'" di-ji-regə,
 DIR-think.3-LNK PART DIR-grind.2 DIR-say.3-LNK
 The strangers thought, "Why is this?" and told the millstone,
 "Grind!"

19 *rata-w* "atɛʰə nə-ydzi'" *di-ji-tə*
 millstone-ERG what(ever) DIR-grind.2 DIR-say.3-NF
 ydzu-ŋkʰə lu du-ŋo-regə, *rata* *də*
 grind-NMLZ.A CLF DIR-be.3-LNK millstone DEF
 gə-zbji~zbji-sə-rə.
 DIR-RED~change.3>3-IFR-SENS
 After the telling the millstone, "Grind something!" it ground,
 and they changed the millstone with theirs.

¹ The full form of the discourse particle is *mo*, but the speaker drops the vowel here.

20 *tcegə* *rə-ə-regə*, *nə-sni* *rə-ə-regə*,
 PART DIR-go.3-LNK after-day DIR-go.3-LNK
rata *də* *arutu* *"nə-ydzi"* *ji-kʰæ* *gə*,
 millstone DEF DIR.ADV DIR-grind.2 say-time PART
rata-j *teʰu* *ætsʰi* *ydzu* *lu* *də-mæ-sə-rə*.
 millstone-GEN PART little grind CLF DIR-NEG-IFR-SENS
 Then the boy went away, he went away the next day and when
 telling the millstone, "Grind!" it did not grind anything.

21 *wu* *wu* *nə-əə* *qarwæ-gu* *qarwæ-gu* *nə-əə-regə*,
 again again DIR-go.3 cry-NMLZ cry-NMLZ DIR-go.3-LNK
 Again, the son went away crying and crying.

22 *qali-w* *"atcʰə* *mæ-ŋe"* *di-ji-regə*,
 crow-ERG what NEG-good DIR-say.3-LNK
 The crow asked, "What is wrong?"

23 *"ni:* *rata* *də* *teʰu* *ydzu-sci*
 2SG.GEN millstone DEF PART grind-NMLZ.INSTR
lu *myæ-rə"* *di-ji-sə-rə*.
 CLF NEG.3-SENS DIR-say.3-IFR-SENS
 "Your millstone is no good," said the boy.

24 *tcegə* *"ni,* *"ætceʰim,* *"rə-qʰe* *je-e-ndzu"*
 PART 2SG what.to.say DIR-LOC DIR-Q-stay.2
di-ji-regə,
 DIR-say.2-LNK
 Then the crow said, "Did you stay there?"

25 *"ju-ndzonj"* *di-ji-regə*, *tcegə* *"tʰi-ni-w*
 DIR-stay.1 DIR-say.3-LNK PART 3-PL-ERG
gə-zbji~zbji-sə-rə."
 DIR-RED~change.3>3-IFR-SENS
 "I did," the son said. Then, "They changed the (millstone)," the
 son said.

26 *jan* *rji* *lu* *du-f-k^hu-sə-rə.*
 again horse CLF DIR-INV-give.3>3-IFR-SENS
 Again, the crow gave the son a horse.

27 *"rji-gi* *'xse* *rŋə* *jo* *xsu* *nə-le"*
 horse-DAT gold silver jade three DIR-defecate.2
di-ji-regə, *"xse* *rŋə* *jo* *xsu*
 DIR-say.3-LNK gold silver jade three
læ-ŋk^hə *du-ŋo-regə,"*
 defecate-NMLZ.A DIR-COP.3-LNK
 "Tell the horse to defecate the three - gold, silver, and jade," the
 crow said. "It defecates the three - gold, silver, and jade."

28 *o* *(rji)¹* *o* *"t^hi-ni-q^he* *ji-di-ndzu."*
 INTERJ horse INTER 3-PL-LOC DIR-PROH-stay.2
 "Do not stay with them (strangers)!"

29 *rə-čə-regə,* *t^hi-ni-q^he* *ju-ndzu-regə,*
 DIR-go.3-LNK they-PL-LOC DIR-stay.3-LNK
t^hi-ni-w *wu* *də* *gə-zbji-zbji-sə-rə.*
 they-PL-ERG again DEM DIR-RED-change.3>3-IFR-SENS
 The son went away and stayed with them (strangers). Again,
 they changed it (the horse).

30 *"gəzə* *ŋε* *rji-gi* *tc^hu* *'nə-le'*
 evening 1SG.GEN horse-DAT PART DIR-defecate.2
də-di-ji *mo"* *di-ji-regə,*
 DIR-PROH-say.2 PART DIR-say.3-LNK
 "In the evening, don't tell the horse to defecate," the boy said.

31 *t^hi-ni-w* *rji-gi* *"nə-le"* *di-ji-regə,*
 3-PL.ERG horse-DAT DIR-defecate.2 DIR-say.3-LNK

¹ The speaker is looking for the right words and the word "horse" should not occur here.

gə-zbji~zbji-sə-rə.

DIR-RED~change.3>3-IFR-SENS

They (the strangers) told the horse to defecate and changed it.

32 *təəgə 'ni: rji-w tə'lu lə-ŋk'ə*
 PART 2SG.GEN horse-ERG PART defecate-NMLZ-A
lu də-mnæ-sə, də-mnæ-sə" di-ji-regə,
 CLF DIR-NEG.3-IFR DIR-NEG.3-IFR DIR-say.3-LNK
 Then, "Your horse is not a defecator (i.e., did not defecate)," the son said.

33 *o təəgə bəcæ q'ə du-f-k'ə-u-sə-rə.*
 INTERJ PART stick CLF DIR-INV-give.3>3-IFR-SENS
 Then the crow gave the son a stick.

34 *o bəcæ q'ə du-f-k'ə-u-regə, "bəcæ-gi*
 INTERJ stick CLF DIR-INV-give.3>3-LNK stick-DAT
'nə-zbəci' də-di-ji mo" di-ji-regə,
 DIR-hit.2 DIR-PROH-say.2 PART DIR-say.3-LNK
 After giving the stick, the crow told the son, "Do not tell the stick to hit."

35 *gəzə tʰi-ni-q'ə rə-çə-regə, mitsa-ni-q'ə*
 evening 3.PL-LOC DIR-go.3-LNK stranger-PL-LOC
ju-ndzu-regə,
 DIR-stay.3-LNK
 In the evening, the son went to their place and stayed with the strangers.

36 *gəzə rgə-k'æ gə, "ŋə bəcæ-gi*
 evening sleep-time INDF 1SG.GEN stick-DAT
'də-rjə'-bi tə'lu də-di-ji mo"
 DIR-get.up.2-like PART DIR-PROH-say.2 PART
di-ji-sə-rə.
 DIR-say.3-IFR-SENS

When going to sleep in the evening, the son said, "Do not tell my stick to get up or anything like that."

| | | | | |
|----|------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 37 | <i>bəcæ̃-gi</i> | " <i>də-rjə</i> " | <i>di-ji-tə</i> | <i>tʰi-ni-w</i> |
| | stick-DAT | DIR-get.up.2 | DIR-say.3-NF | 3-PL-ERG |
| | <i>mitsa-ni-w</i> | <i>tʰi</i> | <i>teʰu</i> | <i>a-rgə</i> |
| | stranger-PL-ERG | 3 | PART | one-CLF |
| | <i>rə-zbəcæ̃-sə-rə</i> | | | DEF |
| | DIR-hit.3>3-IFR-SENS | | | |

They told the stick to get up and the stick hit them.

| | | | |
|----|--------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| 38 | <i>tcəgə</i> | <i>davdə-ze-gi</i> | <i>gə-skiri-tə</i> , |
| | PART | son-DIM-DAT | DIR-shout.3-NF |

Then they screamed at the boy.

| | | | | | |
|----|--|-----------------|----------------|---------------------------|------------------|
| 39 | <i>"ni:</i> | <i>bəcæ̃-gi</i> | <i>ju-ndzu</i> | <i>di-jin¹</i> | <i>gə.</i> |
| | 2SG.GEN | stick-DAT | DIR-sit.2 | DIR-say.2 | PART |
| | <i>ni:</i> | <i>ni:</i> | <i>tcala</i> | <i>mbji-ŋkʰə</i> | <i>jidi-ni</i> |
| | 2SG.GEN | 2SG.GEN | thing | change-NMLZ.A | we.ourselves?-PL |
| | <i>ŋu~ŋoŋ.</i> | <i>xsəmə</i> | <i>xte"</i> | <i>di-ji-regə,</i> | |
| | RED~COP.1 | everything | return | DIR-say-LNK | |
| | "Tell your stick to stop! We are the changers of your things! We will give everything back!" | | | | |

| | | | | |
|----|---------------------------|---------------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| 40 | <i>tcəgə</i> | <i>to-xte-regə,</i> | <i>tcəgə</i> | <i>davdə-zi-regə,</i> |
| | PART | DIR-return.3>3-LNK | PART | son-DIM-LNK |
| | <i>tʰi</i> | <i>amo-w</i> | <i>yne</i> | <i>rjerpə</i> |
| | 3SG.GEN | mother-ERG | two | rich.person |
| | <i>də-tce~tce-sə-rə</i> | | | |
| | DIR-RED~become.3-IFR-SENS | | | |

¹ The final nasal is problematic. In this Stau dialect, the second and third person intransitive verbs appear in the identical stem form with no person indexation suffixes. The form *jin* (say.2) is thus not expected, even though it is attested in the related Geshiza. As an alternative interpretation, the nasal can be seen to belong to a previously undocumented particle *ŋgə*.

Then, after they gave everything back, the two - the boy and (his) mother - became rich.

RETOLD ENGLISH VERSIONS

THE THREE PRINCESSES AND A SERVANT

Long ago, a king had three daughters. The oldest one was Gold Star, the next was Silver Star, and the youngest was Bronze Star. Gold Star had a gold *mdzo mo*, Silver Star a silver *mdzo mo*, and Bronze Star had a bronze *mdzo mo*. The king also had a servant.

One rainy, muddy day, Gold Star went to milk her *mdzo mo*. Gold Star said to the servant, "Go fetch me a stool."

"Since it's raining heavily, I cannot fetch a stool for you so I'll kneel and you can sit on me instead," the servant replied.

Gold Star then sat on the servant and milked her gold *mdzo mo*.

After Gold Star, Silver Star went to milk her silver *mdzo mo* and told the servant to bring her a stool.

The servant replied, "When it's raining like this, I cannot go look for a stool. Please sit on me as your older sister did."

Like her older sister, Silver Star sat on the servant's back to milk.

Bronze Star then went to milk her bronze *mdzo mo*. It was still raining and she said to the servant, "Please go bring me a stool."

The servant replied, "Your two sisters sat on my back to milk while I knelt like this so you also sit on me."

"You're an honorable man so it's not right for me to sit on you. I'm an honorable woman so I can't sit on you. Instead, I'll kneel in the mud to milk," Bronze Star declared, and knelt to milk her bronze *mdzo mo*.

Later, Gold Star married the son of a king. Silver Star also married the son of a king. On the other hand, Bronze Star stayed with the family servant. Since the husbands of both Gold Star and Silver Star were princes, their family members gave the newlyweds many

valuable things. They also looked down on Bronze Star, and did not give her anything valuable as a dowry.

Later, the three married couples left home. When night fell, they had to spend the night where they were. Bronze Star's husband said to her, "Gold Star and Silver Star and their husbands will reach a place with a lot of ice tomorrow, but they cannot walk on the ice. But they have a lot of *rtsam pa* and flour that they can scatter on the ice, and then they can walk on it. However, we don't have any such provisions, so it will be hard for us to reach the other side."

Gold Star and Silver Star were secretly listening to Bronze Star and her husband, and believed what they said. The next day, they spread their provisions on the ice to walk across the frozen river.

That night, they stayed in a new place. The servant said to Bronze Star, "Tomorrow, we will reach a place without water. Your sisters and their husbands will have a lot of urine to drink, but we will only have two people's share of urine to drink. We won't be able to quench our thirst as they will."

Again, the others believed this. The next day, they reached a place without water. After having urinated, they drank their own urine and then became very ill.

The story ends here.

THE BOY AND A CROW

An old woman and her son were very poor. The mother often worked as a servant and was paid in barley, which she washed and told her son to guard as it dried. The son, however, gave the crows a bit of the barley. This made the boy's mother so angry that she drove him out of their home.

While the boy was crying on the road, he met a crow that asked, "What's wrong?"

"I often gave crows a little of the barley that my mother put out to dry, so my mother drove me away from home," the boy said.

The crow gave him a millstone and said, "Take this millstone with you. It grinds whatever you tell it to grind. Remember, however, never stay with strangers at night."

The son then left, but ignored what the crow said and stayed with some strangers that evening. The son said to the family he was staying with, "At night, when I go to sleep, do not tell my millstone to grind or anything."

The family members thought, "Why did the boy say that?" and then ordered the millstone, "Grind some grain!" After the millstone ground, they were amazed and exchanged the boy's millstone for their millstone.

The next day, the boy took the family's millstone and left. When he got back to his own home, he told the millstone to grind, but it did nothing.

Again, the son left home crying and crying. On the road, he met the crow again. The crow asked, "What is wrong?"

"Your millstone is no good," replied the boy.

"Did you stay in a house of strangers?" the crow asked.

"I did. And then, they changed the millstone," the son replied.

This time the crow gave the son a horse and warned, "This horse defecates gold, silver, and jade. Don't stay with those strangers again."

However, the son left and again stayed with the strangers. "In the evening, don't tell the horse to defecate," the boy said to the family members, who then told the horse to defecate. After they saw the treasures that appeared, they replaced the boy's horse with their own horse.

The next day, the boy left and took the horse back to his own home. When he told it to defecate, the horse defecated nothing.

Again, the boy left home, crying and crying. On the road, he again met the crow, who asked, "What's wrong?"

"Your horse did not defecate even one of the promised treasures when I got back home," the boy said.

Then the crow gave him a stick and said, "Don't tell the stick to get up."

The boy stayed with the family of strangers again. When going to bed in the evening, the boy said, "Don't tell my stick to get up or anything like that."

The family members, however, told the stick to get up and the stick started beating them. They then screamed, "Tell your stick to stop! We are the ones who exchanged your things! We will give you everything back!"

After getting everything back, both the boy and his mother became very rich.

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---------|------------------------|
| 1 | 1st person |
| 2 | 2nd person |
| 3 | 3rd person |
| ALL | allative |
| CLF | classifier |
| COM | comitative |
| COP | copula |
| DAT | dative |
| DEM | demonstrative pronoun |
| DIM | diminutive |
| DIR | directional prefix |
| DIR.ADV | directional adverb |
| DU | dual |
| ERG | ergative |
| EXV | existential verb |
| NF | non-finite |
| GEN | genitive |
| IFR | inferential evidential |
| INDF | indefinite |
| INTERJ | interjection |
| LNK | linker |
| LOC | locative |
| NEG | negative |

| | |
|------------|--------------------------------|
| NMLZ | nominalizer |
| NMLZ.A | agentive nominalizer |
| NMLZ.INSTR | instrumental nominalizer |
| NMLZ.L | locative nominalizer |
| PART | particle |
| PL | plural |
| Q | question |
| RED | reduplication |
| TOP | topic |
| SENS | sensory evidential |
| SG | singular |
| SUPL | superlative |
| > | direction of action in persons |

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NON-ENGLISH TERMS

a khu ston pa ང་སྔྱ རྩྱ

brag 'go སྔ རྩྱ

Daofu 道孚

dar mdo དར མྚྱ

dge bshes དྗྱ མྚྱ

dkar mdzes དྕ མྚྱ

Ganzi 甘孜

Gesar, ge sar ཁྱ རྩྱ

Geshiz(h)a 莱什扎, 格什扎

gling ཁྱ

gnas sgron lha mo ཁྱ མྚྱ རྩྱ

hor dpon khag lnga ཁྱ དྗ མྚྱ རྩྱ

hor ཁྱ

hor pa ཁྱ

hu 胡

Huangtou Huihu 黄头回鶲

Kangding 康定

khang gsar ཁྱ མྚྱ

Luhuo 炉霍

ma zu མྚྱ

ma zur མ་ຊུ་

Mazi 麻孜

mdzo mo མཛོ་མོ

Namuyi 纳木依

Namuzi, na mu zhi ན་མུ་ຊི

nang mi ནང་མི

p^hozəwo (consultant's native hamlet)

rta'u རྩྱ

rtsam pa རྩྱམས་པ

sngon ma ཟ୍ଞଙ୍ଗମ

Shangzhai 上寨

Sichuan 四川

Stau, rta'u རྩྱ

Weixin 微信

Xianshui 鲜水